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TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.  
1872.

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I. — *Studies in Cymric Philology.*

By E. EVANS,

PROFESSOR IN CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

SINCE writing my former paper under the above title (TRANSACTIONS, 1871), I have had opportunity to use Skene's "Four Ancient Books of Wales," the latest edition of the oldest extant MSS. of the old Welsh poets, to wit: the Black Book of Caermarthen (Caerm.), referred to the twelfth century, the Book of Aneurin (B. An.), referred to the thirteenth, the Book of Taliesin (B. Tal.), referred to the beginning of the fourteenth, and the poetical part of the Red Book of Hergest (Herg.), "compiled at different times in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries." These texts, though disfigured in the edition by numerous errors of typography, in general show less corruption of original forms than the Myvyrian texts, which are, in many cases, printed from later transcripts. The above MSS. contain a few poems belonging to the early-middle period, say the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and a few also which, from internal evidence, may be adjudged to the almost blank eleventh century, the era of transition from old to middle Welsh. But the greater part are undoubtedly of old Welsh origin. Indeed, there are strong reasons, in some aspects ably presented by Skene, for believing that some of those

associated with the names of Aneurin, Taliesin, and Llywarch Hên, are really based on originals of the sixth and seventh centuries. The translations in Skene, prepared by the Rev. D. Silvan Evans and the Rev. R. Williams, add much that is important to our knowledge of these venerable remains. Yet they are avowedly tentative and conjectural in many parts; nor indeed, in the present stage of the study of early Welsh, is it possible that it should be otherwise. It would be unjust to the learned translators to take their rendering of every passage as the expression of their final judgment of its meaning. The elucidation of these ancient and obscure texts, a work which they have so ably begun, it will require the best efforts of a whole generation of scholars to complete.

In the extracts that follow, I preserve the spelling of the editions, but freely deviate from them in punctuation and the use of capital letters, and sometimes also in the separation of words, and the division of verse into lines.

## XI.

That species of initial-change which consists in the "provection of the mediæ," has been pointed out by Zeuss and others in Armoric and Cornish, but not in Welsh; yet in the oldest Welsh documents we may observe occasional instances of it. It takes place after strong consonants, notably *s* and *th*, ending the preceding words. It is therefore due to the assimilating tendency.

Thus, in the Black Book of Caermarthen (51):

Neus *tuc* Manauid  
Eis tull o Trywruid?

Did not Manawyd bring  
Perforated shields from Tribroit?

Here *tuc* is a mutation of *duc*, brought. Other examples in the Black Book are, *ys truc* (21) for *ys druc*, 'est malum,' and *ac nis tirmycco* (36) for *ac nis dirmycco*, 'neque eum despiciat.'

So also in the oldest copy of the Laws: *peth peccan* (120 bis) for *peth beccan*, a small matter; *guedy es tadkano* (148) for *guedy es dadkano*, after he shall have stated

them; *kyfreith penfic march* (266), the law of borrowing a horse, *penfic* being a mutation of *benfic* (beneficium), modern *benthyg*, a loan; etc.

Codex B., of Brut Gruffudd ab Arthur, has, repeatedly, *pop plwydyn* (Myv. II. 186, 304, 309) for *pop blwydyn*, every year.

The provection sometimes continues to take place after the infecting consonant has been dropped or depressed: thus, *o keill*, if he can (Leg. A. 28, 156), where *o* is for *os*, and *keill* for *geill*; *ked kouenho*, though he ask (ib. 46), *ked* being for *ket* and *kouenho* for *gouenho*. The same fact is seen in Armoric, e. g., *ho preur*, your brother, *ho* being for *hoc'h* and *preur* for *breur*.

In later Welsh, this mutation disappears, except in a few compounds, e. g., *attychwel*, return, from *at*, modern *ad*, and *dychwel*.

Among the lately discovered glosses to Martianus Capella, an edition of which has appeared with the learned annotations of Whitley Stokes, is *orcueetic cors*, "ex papyro textili." I think *cueetic* is, by provection after a strongly uttered *r*, for *guëetic*, woven: compare *or Kocled* for *Gocled*, from the North, in the Venedotian Laws (104).

In *Prydain*, Britannia, I suspect the provection of the initial was originally owing to the habitual use of the word *ynys* before it; thus, throughout the Triads, *ynys Prydein* and *ynys Prydain*, the Isle of Britain.

## XII.

Zeuss overlooks the Welsh plural-ending *-awr*, *-iawr*, with which we may compare the Armoric *-ier*. Plural substantives in *-awr* are frequent in the old Welsh poets; nor are they very rare in the poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As primitive *ā* passed into Welsh *au*, and Armoric *e*, we may infer *-ār* as the earlier form. This view is corroborated by the rhymes in the Gododin, of which the following stanza contains five of the most common plurals of this form (B. An. 73):

Gwyr a aeth Gatraeth yg cat yg gawr,  
Nerth meirch a gwrymseirch ac ysgwydawr;

Peleidyr ar gychwyn a llym waewawr  
 A llurugeu claer a chledyuawr.  
 Ragorei, tyllei trwy vydinawr,  
 Kwydei bym pymwnt rac y lavnawr —  
 Ruuawn Hir — ef rodei eur e allawr  
 A chet a choelwein kein y gerdawr.

Men went to Catraeth arrayed and shouting,  
 A force of horses and brown trappings and shields;  
 Shafts advancing and keen lances  
 And shining coats-of-mail and swords.  
 He excelled, he penetrated through armies,  
 Five battalions fell before his blades —  
 Ruvon the Tall — he was wont to give gold to the altar,  
 And treasure and precious stones to the minstrel.

Deprived of initial inflection, the plurals referred to are as follows: *ysgwydawr*, shields, from *ysgwyd*, scutum; *gwaewawr*, spears, from *gwaew*; *cledyuawr* (Armoric *klezeier*), swords, from *cledyv*, modern *cleddyf*, Irish *claidheamh*; *bydinawr*, armies, from *bydin*, modern *byddin*, old Welsh *bodin*; *llawnawr*, blades, from *llavn*, modern *llafn*, lamina.

*Allawr*, rhyming with these plurals, represents an older *altār*, Latin *altare*. *Cerdawr*, modern *cerddor*, is not a plural but a derivative in *-ār* (Armoric *-er*, Irish *-air*, Latin *-arius*, Z. 781, 829), signifying a minstrel, from *cerd*, i. e., *cerdd*, song; so *telynowr*, harper, from *telyn*, harp, *drynowr*, a doorkeeper, from *drws*, door, etc. This class of derivatives, which are numerous, form their plurals in *-orion*, thus, *cerddorion*, minstrels.

Plurals in *-awr* are unmistakably indicated by the associated words in such expressions as, *yt lethrynt lafnawr* (B. Tal. 154), blades glanced, *gwaynowr ebrifet* (ib. 172), spears without number, *lleithrion eu pluawr* (Gwalchmai, Myv. I. 193), glossy are their plumes.

As examples of the plural in *-awr* in early-middle Welsh, I take the following from Cynddelw: *llafnowr*, blades, (Myv. I. 214), *bydinawr*, armies, *aessawr*, targets, *preidyawr*, prae-dae (ib. 243). That plurals of this form disappeared in later Welsh was owing, doubtless, to a natural tendency to choose forms not admitting of more than one meaning.

The form *-iawr* occurs a few times, as in the above *preidyawr*, and in *cadyawr*, conflicts (B. An. 82).

I had proposed to compare *-awr* with the Teutonic *-er*. Professor Hadley, to whose learning and genius I have often

been indebted for aid in these studies, suggests that, as the Teutonic *-er* originally belonged to the stem and became a distinctive mark of the plural only by being dropped in the singular, so the Welsh *-awr* probably had a similar history, though, on account of the long quantity of the latter, indicating as it does a primitive *-ār*, it would be unsafe to assume its identity with the Teutonic *-er*, that more probably it should be compared with the Latin *-āris*, or with *-ar*, gen. *-āris*, as in *calcar*, *laquear*, etc.

### XIII.

In the old Welsh poets, I find a termination of the second singular, present indicative, active, which does not appear to have been noticed in Zeuss or elsewhere. It is usually written *-yð*, and always rhymes with words which, in middle and modern Welsh, end with the *dd* sound; hence, in old Welsh, it must have been *-ið*, not *-it*. Verbs with this ending have been translated variously, but by no author consistently, and scarcely ever correctly. I think the following examples will, after a careful view, be considered decisive as to its true meaning.

One of the Urien poems, attributed to Taliesin (B. Tal. 184), begins thus:

Uryen yr echwyd,  
Haelaf dyn bedyd,  
Lliaws a rodyd  
Y dynyon eluyd.  
Mal y kynnullyd  
Yt wesceryd.  
Llawen beird bedyd  
Tra vo dy uchyd.  
  
Urien of the plain,  
Most generous of Christians,  
Much dost thou give  
To the men of earth.  
As thou gatherest  
Thou dost scatter.  
Joyful are Christian bards  
While thy life lasts.

The words *dy uchyd*, thy life, in the last line, show that the passage is an address, and that the verbs ending in *-yð* are in the second person.

Again, in the Book of Taliesin (145):

A wdost ti peth wyt  
Pan vyth yn kyscwyt?

Ac corff ae eneit  
 Ae argel canhwyt?  
 Eilewyd keluyd  
 Pyr nam dywedyd?

Restore the rhyme of the second couplet by reading *canheit*, sun (modern *canaid*), then translate:

Knowest thou what thou art  
 When thou art sleeping?  
 A body or a soul  
 Or a sun obscured?  
 Skillful minstrel,  
 Why dost thou not tell me?

The following is from a religious poem in the Book of Taliesin (180):

Ti a nodyd  
 A ry-geryd  
 O pop karchar

Thou dost help  
 Whom thou lovest  
 Out of every prison.

The Red Book of Hergest contains the dialogue entitled Cyvoesi (Ages), between Myrddin and his sister. Gwen-ddydd says to Myrddin (231):

Llallawc, kan am hatebyd,  
 Myrdin uab Morvryn geluyd,  
 Truan a chwedyl a dywedyd.

My twin brother, when thou dost answer me,  
 Skillful Myrddin son of Morvryn,  
 Woful is the tale which thou dost tell.

Note that *truan a chwedyl* is Archaic for *truan o chwedyl*.

In a dialogue found in the Black Book of Caermarthen (56), where, it should be observed, the *dd* sound is represented by *t*, Ugnach says to Taliesin:

Y tebie y gur deduit,  
 Ba hid ei dy a phan doit?

Thou that seemest a prudent man,  
 Whither goest thou and whence dost thou come?

I submit whether after a comparative study of these passages, which together exhibit nine examples of verbs ending in *-yd*, it is possible to avoid the conclusion that this termination marks the second person singular, of the present indicative active. It corresponds regularly to the Cornish *-yth*, *-eth*, and the Armorican *-ez*, which belong to the same place.

There are many other examples of *-yd* scattered through the old Welsh poems, and some poems whose old Welsh

origin has been questioned; but in place of it we also find *-i*, as in Irish and in later Welsh. In the unquestioned productions of the twelfth and later centuries, I find no example of *-yd*. The proverb *Gwell nag nac addaw ni wneydd*—Better a refusal than a promise which thou dost not perform,—I regard as old, though it comes to us in late orthography (Myv. I. 174).

We cannot account for *-yd* by supposing the pronoun *ti*, thou (Irish *tu*), to have been suffixed, without admitting that this is a very old formation, that in fact the *t* was already depressed to *d* in old Welsh. This, as before stated, is proved by the words with which the termination rhymes. Thus, in the above extracts it rhymes with *deduit*, i. e. *dedwydd*, prudent, a compound which contains the root *gwydd*, Irish *fiadh*, indicating a primitive *vid*; also with *celuid*, i. e. *celfydd*, skillful, old Welsh *celmed* (Eutyech.); also with *eluyd*, later *elfydd*, world, old Welsh *elbid* (Juv.); also with *bedyd*, modern *bedydd*, baptism, old Welsh *betid* (Juv.); etc.

#### XIV.

The Irish *-id* of the third singular, present indicative active, is not used in “subjoined” verbs, that is, in verbs following certain particles, among which are the negatives *ni* and *na*, and the verbal *ro* (Z. 425). This idiom obtains also in Welsh. The termination *-it* or *-id* of the same place, as I have elsewhere shown (Trans. II. 7), occurs often in the old Welsh remains; but I have found it only in “absolute” verbs. The fact will be best illustrated by examples where the same verb occurs both as absolute and as subjoined, in the same passage. The following is from Llywarch Hên (Herg. 289): *perëid y rycheu, ny phara ae goreu*, the trenches remain, they who made them remain not. Among the ancient proverbs interspersed through the alphabetical collection in the Myvyrian, I find the following: *trengid golud, ni threing molud* (III. 177), riches perish, glory perishes not; *tricid gwr wrth ei barch, ni thrig wrth ei gyvarwys* (ib.), a man starves on honor, he does not starve on bounty; *tyvid maban, ni thyv ei gadachan* (ib.),



the child grows, its clout grows not; *chwarëid mab noeth, ni chwery mab newynawg* (ib. 152), a naked youth plays, a hungry youth plays not. So again in the Gosymdaith (Viaticum) of Llevoed Wynebglawr, a versified collection of old Welsh aphorisms (Herg. 307):

Ny nawt eing llyfyrder rac lleith;  
Enghit glew oe gyfarweith.

Not usually does cowardice escape destruction;  
The brave escapes from his conflict.

The example, *gwae drut ny chretit*, which I quoted in a former paper (Trans. II. 7), from the Myvyrian text of the Gosymdaith, would, if right, show an exception to the rule. Mr. Stokes calls my attention to a different reading in the Red Book of Hergest, which, I have no doubt, is the correct one: *gwae drut ny gret it*, woe to the presumptuous one that does not believe in Thee.

I do not recognize an exception in the *nyt echwenit clot kelwyd* of the Gosymdaith (Herg. 305). I know of no verb that will explain *echwenit* unless it be *achwanegu*, to increase. The true reading, I think, is *nyt echwenic clot kelwyd*, falsehood does not advance fame. The umlants here postulated are regular. There is a similar example in the Black Book (5), *ny dichuenic but pedi*, begging does not promote gain. Here we have a compound *dychwanegu*.

## XV.

Dr. Davies and other Welsh grammarians very properly give *-a* as a frequent termination of the third singular, present and future indicative, active: compare the Irish *-a* of the subjoined indicative. Zeuss or his editor seems to consider this *-a*, in middle Welsh examples, as a part of the stem, as if all the verbs thus ending were derivative verbs in *-äu* (old Welsh *agu*, modern *-au*, denominative and causative), which preserve the *a* in conjugation.

It is certain that in middle as well as in modern Welsh *-a* is often used as a termination; and in derivative verbs in *-äu* it is accordingly often added to the *a* of the stem, giving *-äa*, or *-aha*, or *-hää*. Thus, in an early-middle translation of Geoffrey's Prophecy of Merlin (Myv. II. 261-7), *arwydocäa*,

"significat," *adurnocāa*, "adornabit," *atnewydaha*, "renovabit," *grymhāa*, "vigebit," etc. In modern Welsh, *-āa* has become *-ā*; and in consequence of this synaeresis the accent is thrown on the last syllable.

Examples abound also in verbs other than those in *-āu*: thus (ib.), *doluria*, "dolebit," from *doluriaw*; *palla*, "peribit," from *pallu*; *eheta*, "convolabit," from *ehetec*; *cerda*, "procedet," from *cerdet*; etc.

The following examples, among others, appear in the oldest copy of the Laws: *guada* (86), denies, from *guadu* (ib.); *palla* (162), fails; *gnāa* (114), does; *trukarhāa* (II. 4), has compassion.

The following are from one of the poems of Cynddelw (Myv. I. 250-1): *pyylla*, considers, *treidia*, penetrates, *brys sya*, hastens, *atveilya*, decays. The *i* or *y* before *-a* in the three last examples is foreign to verbs in *-āu*, that is to say, there are no verbs in *-iāu*. The infinitives are, *pwyllaw*, *treiddiaw*, *brysiaw*, and *adfeiliaw*.

In the old Welsh poems, as they come to us, *-a* as a termination is infrequent but not unknown; thus in Llywarch Hēn (Herg. 287, bis), *yd āa*, goes. We cannot here regard the first *a* as the verbal particle, for it is not used after the particle *yd*.

## XVI.

In modern Welsh, the present subjunctive (and optative) terminations are *-of*, *-ot* or *-ych*, *-o*, *-om*, *-och*, *-ont*. I think it may be shown that the *o* in these terminations represents an old Welsh *oi*. In the earliest Welsh MSS., instead of *o* we often find *oe* and *wy* and sometimes even *oy*, all of which point to an earlier *oi*; compare *loinou*, gl. "frutices," later, *llwynau*, *gloiu*, gl. "liquidum," later, *gloyw* and *gloew*, etc.

The first singular *-wyf* for *-of* is not yet obsolete; in middle Welsh it was the usual form. The Venedotian Laws furnish one example of *-oef* in *a talloef* (120), 'quod reddam.'

The anomalous *-ych* of the second singular prevails in middle Welsh; it is found in one old Welsh gloss, *anbiic guell*, "aue," later, *henpych gwell* and *henffych gwell*, 'mayst

thou fare better.' This is undoubtedly a pronominal ending equivalent to *-yth*. The latter occurs once in the place of *-ych* in the Book of Taliesin (116): *ry-prynhom ni an llocyth tydi vab Meir*, may we gain thy protection (lit. 'that thou protect us') O son of Mary. I find a comparatively recent example in Huw Llwyd of Cynfal (Cymru Fu. 352), who speaks of conscience as one *nac a ofnith moi gefnu*, whose desertion thou wilt not fear. In the Laws, *ych law* occurs for *yth law*, 'to thy hand' (II. 280, bis). So also in Armorica we find *ec'h* for the more usual *ez*, as in *ec'h euz*, 'tibi est.'

The other second singular form, *-ot*, seems to be modern so far as it appears in books; but it probably came down in some spoken dialect from an old Welsh *-oit*; in fact the form *-wyt* also occurs (Z. 512).

In the early poets the third singular often has *-wy* instead of *-o*, e. g. *guledichuy*, dominetur (Caerm. 26), *cothvy*, i. e. *coddwy*, laedat (ib. 39), *digonwy*, faciat (B. Tal. 121), *carwy*, amet (Gwalchmai, Myv. I. 193), *rodwy*, det (ib. 202), *syllwy*, videat, *catwy*, servet (Cynddelw, ib. 217). The Black Book (22) has one example of *-oe*, in *creddoe*, credat.

For the first plural *-om* we find *-wym* in *bwym*, simus (B. Tal. 181).

For the second plural *-och* I have observed no other form. From analogy, however, we may suppose this to represent an old Welsh *-oich*.

In the oldest copy of the Laws the third plural *-oent* is quite as common as *-ont*: thus *kafuent*, acquirant (10), *menoent*, velint (22), *ranoent*, dividant (34), *euoent*, bibant (106), *deuedoent*, dicant (152), *kemerhoent*, capiant (260), etc. Codex E of the Laws has examples of *-oynt*: thus *deloynt*, veniant, and *elhoynt*, eant (I. 192). In the Book of Taliesin *-wynt* is frequent: thus *prynwynt*, assequantur (109), *ymgetwynt*, caveant (128), *atchwelwynt*, revertantur, *ceisswynt*, quaerant (129), etc.

It will hardly be questioned that the old Welsh forms in *oi*, thus clearly indicated, were primitive optative forms.

## XVII.

I think, however, that the present subjunctive in *o* had one

other source, or rather that there were certain old forms in *au* (*aw*), also optative in origin perhaps, but used as future indicative, which by the regular change of *au* to *o* early became indistinguishable from the subjunctive forms in *o* (from *oi*), and were lost in them.

I begin with the third plural *-aunt* revealed in the *cuin-haunt*, "deflebit," (scil. "genus hoc") of the Juvenecus glosses (Beitr. IV. 404). I find this termination preserved in a few instances. Thus in the Book of Taliesin (124):

Gwaethyl gwyr hyt Gaer Weir gwasgarawt Allmyn;  
Gwnahawnt goruoled gwedy gwchyn.

'The wrath of men as far as Caer Weir will scatter the Allmyn; they will make rejoicing after exhaustion.'

Again (ib. 212-3) *pebyllyawnt ar Tren a Tharanhon*, they will encamp on the Tren and the Taranhon; *gwerin byt yn wir bydawnt lawen*, the populace of the earth truly will be happy; etc.

As *-aunt* passed into *-ont* its indicative use did not at once cease; thus we find in the Black Book (27):

Gwtil a Brithon a Romani  
A vvnahont dyhet a divysci.  
Gwyddyl and Britons and Romans  
Will create discord and confusion.

A third singular *-au* can also be fully established. Thus in the Book of Taliesin (150):

Ac Owein Mon Maelgynig deuawt  
A wnaw Peithwyr gorweidawc.  
And Owein of Mona, of Malgonian custom,  
Will lay the Picts prostrate.

Here *gwnaw* is for *gwnäaw*, just as *gwnant* is for *gwnäant*.

In a versified collection of proverbs in the Black Book (5) is the following: *nid ehalath as traetha ny chaffaw ae hamhevo*, he who does not relate a thing too amply will not find those that will contradict him.

Meilyr ab Gwalchmai, who composed religious poems late in the twelfth and early in the thirteenth century, has the following (Myv. I. 332):

Ar Duw adef y nef uy llef llwyprawd  
Yny edrinaw ury rac y Drindawd  
Y erchi ym ri rwyf, . . . .

Toward God's abode, toward Heaven my cry will proceed,  
Until it ascend on high before the Trinity  
To ask my sovereign King, . . . .

This example, however, is not in itself decisive as to the mood, since *yny* may be followed by either the indicative or the subjunctive.

In Codex B of Brut Gruffudd ab Arthur (Myv. II. 305) is the following: *a pwy bynac a damweinaw idaw yr ageu honno* . . . . , and to whomever that death shall happen. . . .

In a reputed prophecy of Heinin Fardd addressed to Maelgwn Gwynedd (Myv. I. 553), the language of which, however, is middle Welsh, is the following line: *mi anfonaf wledl or sygnedd ir neb ai haeddaw*, I will send a feast from the constellations to any one who shall deserve it.

As *-aw* passed into *-o* its indicative use did not at once cease. Thus in a poem on the Day of Judgment, in the Book of Taliesin (121):

Pryt pan dyffo  
Ef ae gwahano.

When He shall come  
He will separate them.

In the predictive poem entitled Daronwy (ib. 148):

Dydeuho kynrein  
O amir Rufein.

There will come chieftans  
From the vicinage of Rome.

After certain connectives, such as *pan*, when, *wedi*, after, *yny*, when or until, and in relative clauses, the present subjunctive in *o* is used to supply the place of a future indicative, sometimes of a future-perfect. How far this use is originally due to *aw* forms, or how far it belonged to the *oi* forms, I will not undertake to say.

### XVIII.

To the future in *au* also belongs the third singular *-awt*, of which we have already seen two examples, *gwasgarawt* and *llwyprawd*, in the extracts of the last article. This, instead of passing into *-ot* or *-od*, was dropped; thus *biawt*, erit (Herg. 228), and *bydhawt*, erit (B. Tal. 213), became *bi* and *bydd*. Mr. Silvan Evans was the first to point out this future ending (Skene, II. 424). It is not "*-awd*, *-awdd*," however, but *-awt*, *-awd*, as we may see wherever it is a rhyming syllable, as in the above *llwyprawd*. In the old Welsh poetry it occurs often. It also occurs a few times in early-middle

productions. Thus in Codex B. of Brut Gruffudd ab Arthur the clause "et Gallicanos possidebit saltus," of Geoffrey's original, is rendered *a gwladod Freinc a uedhawt* (Myv. II. 262). I have not found this termination used otherwise than as future indicative. The Mabinogi of Killwch and Olwen (Mab. II. 201, 202) contains three examples: *bydhawt*, it will be, *methawd*, it will fail, *ymchoelawd*, it will turn. Ebel regards the two last as used optatively (Z. 1097). Lady Charlotte Guest, adopting the sense naturally suggested by the context, translates them as future indicative.

### XIX.

The common middle-Welsh conjugation of the perfect active indicative is *-eis*, *-eist*, *-awd(d)*, *-asom*, *-asawch*, *-asant*. The third singular, however, had besides *-awd(d)*, the endings *-wys*, *-as*, *-es* and *-is*. To these I must add *-essit*, *-yssit*, *-sit*, of which there are evident examples in the early poetry, though they have generally been confounded by translators with the similar terminations of the pluperfect passive impersonal.

The Gododin (B. An. 71), in recounting the deeds of one of its heroes, says: *seinnyessyt e gledyf ym penn mameu* — his sword resounded in the head of mothers (that is, he killed the sons).

The following is from a religious poem in the Book of Taliesin (181):

Prif teyrnas a duc Ionas o perued kyt;  
Kiw dawt Niniuen bu gwr llawen pregethyssit.

The Chief of Sovereignty brought Jonah from the belly of the whale;  
To the city of Nineveh it was a joyful man that preached.

*Kiw dawt* is Latin civitat-, *kyt* is Latin cetus.

The translators in Skene recognize the perfect active in the above examples. Why not also in the following? *Kewssit da nyr gaho drwe* (B. Tal. 148), he has found good who does not find evil. This aphorism, in a later form, appears in the Myvyrian collection (III. 150): *cavas dda ni chavas ddrwg*, he has found good who has not found evil.

The next is from Cynddelw (Myv. I. 224):

Llary Einnyawn lluchdawn llochessid  
Veiryon — vab kynon clod venwyd.

Gentle Einnyawn, lavish of gifts, protected  
The bards — the son of Cynon, the glory of wit.

The next is from Meilyr ab Gwalchmai (Myv. I. 324):

Delyessid Yeuan yeuange deduyt  
Diheu uab Duu nef yn dufyr echuyt.

John, the young, the wise, held  
The true Son of God in the water of the plain.

From the same (ib.): *prynessid mab Duu mad gerennhyt*, the Son of God purchased a blessed friendship.

In Brut Gruffudd ab Arthur (Myv. II. 249) there is an example of *-assit*: *ar gwenwyn hwnnw trwy lawer o amser ae llygrassyd*, and that poison [the Pelagian heresy] for a long time corrupted them. Geoffrey's original here has the plu-perfect: "*cujus venenum ipsos multis diebus affecerat.*" But the translation in the Brut is free. The rest of the above examples, either on the face of them or in view of the connections in which they occur, are decisive and indicate the perfect.

May we not compare here the *-sit* of Latin perfects in *si*?

## XX.

The Welsh perfect passive forms in *-at* and *-et* are doubtless perfect participles which passed into finite verbs by the habitual omission of the auxiliary,—the place of the participle being in the meantime supplied by the verbal adjective in *-etic*, with which Ebel compares Latin *dediticius*, *facticus*, *suppositicius*, etc. These changes must have taken place at a very early period; yet I find a few middle-Welsh examples where the participle, in composition with the auxiliary *oedd*, was, retains its proper meaning. I am not aware that they have been pointed out.

The following are from Brut Gruffudd ab Arthur: *keyssyaw y wlat ry-vanagadoed udunt* (Myv. II. 103), to seek the country which had been mentioned to them; *pym meyb hagen a anadoed ydaw* (ib. 160), there had been born to him, however, five sons; *a megys y dyscadoed ydaw, brywaw y prynet a oruc* (ib. 170), and as it had been taught him, he bruised the insects; *megys yd archadoed* (ib. 286), as it had been commanded.

The following is a stanza of uncertain authorship, printed among the early-middle poems in the *Myvyrian* (I. 254):

Eurwas kyn lleas, yn llysoet enwawc  
Mygedawc magadoet  
O bob da defnytdoet;  
O bob defnyt deifnyawc oet.

The illustrious youth, before he perished, had been bred in famous and grand courts. Of every good was he composed; in every matter he was skilled.

The verbs here to be noticed are *managad-oedd*, *ganad-oedd*, *dyscad-oedd*, *archad-oedd*, *magad-oedd*, *defnyddad-oedd*. They are not imperfects, as the similar combinations in Armoric are, e. g. *oa caret*, was loved, but pluperfects, like the Latin ‘*amatus erat*.’

## II.—*Words derived from Indian Languages of North America.*

By J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

When two individuals or companies, each ignorant of the other's language, are brought together and seek to maintain intercourse, an artificial dialect is likely to be formed as their medium of communication. Something like elective affinity takes place among the elements of speech. Words and formatives enter into new combinations and crystalize in new shapes. Each language borrows from the other what it can most readily assimilate to itself. One contributes a primary verb, to which the other gives an adverbial prefix, or imparts causative or intensive expression. One supplies the greater number of words, the other more largely influences grammatical construction. Aspirates, sibilants, gutturals, or combinations of consonants, which present difficulties to speakers of either language, are eliminated from the new. Of such artificial dialects, the “pigeon-English” of China, the “talkee-talkee” of the negroes of Surinam, and the “Chinook jargon” or trade language of Oregon, are familiar examples. The last, founded on the Chinook, borrows largely from English and French, with some contributions from the Spanish; but words of European origin have received such modifications of sound, accent, and meaning, that their identity is nearly lost. For